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The Suffragist

OFFICIAL WEEKLY ORGAN OF
THE NATIONAL WOMAN'S PARTY

SATURDAY, JULY 27, 1918

Drawn for The Suffragist by Nina E. Allender

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Notes of the Week

Candidates for Senate Back Suffrage Amendment

HENRY Ford, candidate for the United States Senate has declared himself in hearty sympathy with President Wilson's stand on the federal suffrage amendment, and his desire that it be immediately passed as a war measure.

Mr. Ford said, in a telegram to the National Woman's Party:

"The women of our country have made a great and honorable fight, which marks another step in the progress of our nation. If women are obliged to obey the laws they certainly should have a chance to help make them."

Ex-Governor Chase S. Osborne, Republican Senatorial candidate in Michigan, has made an equally strong declaration in favor of national woman suffrage. In a telegram received in Washington recently he says:

"I have always actively favored woman suffrage. When Governor of Michigan I called a special session of the legislature which passed a suffrage bill submitting the question to the people. In my platform as senatorial candidate I declare unequivocally for suffrage. To my mind there is no argument against it. The world cannot be safe for humanity without it. Congress should pass the amendment at once. It is both unjust and cowardly to evade or postpone it."

Senators Smith and Townsend, now representing Michigan in the United States Senate, have both endorsed the federal amendment.

IN New Hampshire both candidates for the Democratic nomination are running on federal suffrage planks.

Eugene E. Rex, of Manchester, states that he is "committed to equal suffrage."

Albert W. Noone, of Petersboro, wired:

"I am in hearty favor of national woman suffrage."

GOVERNOR Edge, of New Jersey, candidate for the Republican nomination for United States Senator, emphasized his support of the federal suffrage amendment in the following declaration which he wired to the National Woman's Party:

"If a member of the Senate I would vote for the resolution referring the constitutional amendment enfranchising women to the states for individual action."

This statement by Governor Edge stands in contrast to the non-committal attitude of his appointee, Senator Baird. Senator Baird is known to have stated at the time of his appointment that he would support President Wilson in all war measures. Up to this time, however, Senator Baird has refused to commit himself on the subject of the federal amendment, disregarding the President's plea and Governor Edge's attitude.

George L. Record, of Jersey City, the only opponent of the Governor in the Republican primaries, has already given out a statement of his position on suffrage, in which he declared himself an earnest advocate of the suffrage amendment. Mr. Record adds:

"I speak in behalf of the national amendment at every meeting. The woman suffrage association of New Jersey has the privilege of having a speaker and distributing literature at every meeting."

Senator Baird, of New Jersey, is not the only Senator who is finding his candidacy embarrassed by his previous stand on the suffrage question. Suffragists are conducting campaigns in the states of Senators up for reelection who have failed to support suffrage and their opponents in the field are making capital of this issue.

The National Party Works for Suffrage

THE new National Party is one of the organizations which is working actively for the passage of the suffrage amendment immediately. This Party is not resting on its platform declarations to women, but is backing up its statements with deeds. Messages have been sent through state committees and organizers to Senators who have heretofore opposed the amendment and are still undecided in their attitude on it.

"The disregard by those unalterable reactionaries in the Senate of the simplest yet greatest and most honoring tribute they could pay to the women of America for the measureless services they are so unselfishly yielding the cause of democracy," said Mr. J. A. H. Hopkins, chairman of the national executive committee, "was a grave disappointment to us. But we hope that the backward senators will be aroused by the public conviction that no further time must be lost in granting our women the full rights of citizenship.

"The National Party is not only committed to full suffrage, but has adopted the policy of having women, as well as men, on committees. This is carrying the suffrage issue to its logical point."

Unequal Pay for Women

A STRIKING example of the blindness of our present governing class in dealing justice to women is the case of the women employed in the Bureau of Printing and Engraving in Washington. These women receive a hopelessly inadequate wage in return for important government work rendered. Many of them have not received an increase in wages in many years in spite of the great increase in the cost of living.

The Woman's Trade Union League reports some of the conditions in the Bureau:

"Men who wipe machines in the Bureau of Engraving and Printing get better pay than the women who operate those machines. Men who carry the product of the machines from one place to another in the building receive more than the women who work those machines. Messengers, ink carriers, waste paper sorters, stablemen, drivers, who are men, receive better wages than do the women who help to make, examine, and are responsible for the perfection and integrity of the count on American paper money, stamps, and Liberty bonds. Women messengers receive less than men messengers."

Yet the appropriation necessary to increase these wages failed to pass the House of Representatives. It passed the Senate and has now been referred to a conference committee. Unjust conditions such as these cannot continue until after the war—they should not have to continue one day longer. What can be done, however, until the women have power back of their demands?

Discrimination Against Women in Germany

IN establishing somewhat better working conditions for the 6,000,000 women who have entered industrial occupations in Germany since the beginning of the war, the German officials are concerned more with the position of the men after the war than with that of the women in the industries now. To insure employment to the men when they return, married women are discriminated against. Women employed by the imperial postal and telegraph departments have finally obtained permission to hold their positions after marriage, but only until their husbands return from the war. If the husband is unable to secure permanent employment, the wife may continue her work for a year. The wives of invalided soldiers may retain their positions permanently. Women teachers are still automatically discharged when they marry. The German women workers are organizing in order to protest against these injustices. In their fight for equality they have the support of the Social Democratic Party, which strongly advocates their enfranchisement.

British Women with Alien Husbands May Renaturalize

BRITISH women are no longer to be forced by law to belong to the country of their husbands when their husbands happen to be foreigners. The obsolete custom of recognizing only one citizenship for a man and his wife is still effective in almost every country. The House of Comomns has voted unanimously to abolish it. The Home office will assent to the applications of women wishing to remain British subjects after marrying aliens. Once more the British women are ahead of Americans in doing away with an undemocratic custom.

Hungarian Diet Resembles Our Senate

WHILE these United States are not yet ahead of our backward, autocratic enemies they are still managing to keep abreast of Germany and Austria in the matter of delaying action on woman suffrage. Word has just come from Hungary that the lower house of the Diet has defeated the government's suffrage measure.

THE NATIONAL SUFFRAGE AMENDMENT

Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States extending the right of suffrage to women.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article be proposed to the legislatures of the several States as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which when ratified by three-fourths of the said legislatures, shall be valid as part of said Constitution, namely:

"ARTICLE—SEC. 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

"SEC. 2. Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to enforce the provisions of this article."

THE AMENDMENT IN THE SIXTY-FIFTH CONGRESS

Introduced

In the Senate, on April 4, 1917, by Senators Thompson, Owen, Jones and Shafroth.

In the House, on April 2, 1917, by Representatives Raker, Rankin, Mondell, Keating, Taylor and Hayden. Reintroduced in the House December 18, 1917, by Representatives Rankin, Raker, Hayden, Taylor, Keating and Mondell.

Referred

In the Senate, to the Committee on Woman Suffrage.

In the House, to the Judiciary Committee.

In the House all resolutions reintroduced on December 18 were referred to the Committee on Woman Suffrage.

Reported in the Senate

Favorably, September 15, 1917.

Reported in the House

By Judiciary Committee without recommendation December 15, 1917.

By Suffrage Committee with recommendation January 8, 1918.

Present Status

In the Senate

On the calendar awaiting a vote.

In the House

Passed January 10, 1918.

HISTORY OF THE AMENDMENT

Drafted

In its present form, by Susan B. Anthony in 1875.

First Introduced

January 10, 1878, by Hon. A. A. Sargent, in the Senate.

Reported from Committee

In the Senate

1878, Adverse majority.
1879, Favorable minority.
1882, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1884, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1886, Favorable majority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1892, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1896, Adverse majority.
1913, Favorable majority.
1914, Favorable majority.
1917, Favorable majority.

In the House

1883, Favorable majority.
1884, Adverse majority, favorable minority.
1886, Favorable minority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1894, Adverse majority.
1914, Without recommendation.
1916, Without recommendation.
1917, Without recommendation.

Voted Upon

In the Senate

January 25, 1887. Yeas 16, nays 34. Absent 26 (of whom 4 were announced as for and 2 against).

March 19, 1914. Yeas 35, nays 34, failing by 11 of the necessary two-thirds vote.

In the House

January 12, 1915. Yeas 174, nays 204, failing by 78 of the necessary two-thirds vote.

January 10, 1918. Yeas 274, nays 136, passing by the necessary two-thirds vote.

The Suffragist

Editor
Miss Vivian Pierce

Associate Editors
Miss Lavinia Dock — Mrs. Gilson Gardner — Miss Pauline Jacobson

Cartoonist, Mrs. Nina E. Allender

Business Department
Business, Miss Betty Gram — *Mailing,* Miss Dorothy Bready

Circulation, Miss Therese Olzendam

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Suffrage a Fighting Issue

IT is now apparent that the biggest issue on which elections will be won or lost next November will be the issue of woman suffrage. Otherwise the only subject before the electorate is whether President Wilson shall be supported in his war program by Democrats or Republicans;—a consideration of greater moment to the parties concerned than to the people as a whole. The question of woman suffrage, however, is a question on which parties and politicians have to align themselves for and against a clear principle, the principle of democracy for the people of the United States. Parties and individuals will go before the nation in November with a definite record on this issue; and all the indications are that it will arouse a tremendous interest among the people who decide the fate of the nation at the polls.

The Republican State Convention, held at Saratoga Springs last week, showed how deeply the great State of New York was aroused over the suffrage issue. The entire convention spoke with one voice in favor of woman suffrage. The reactionaries cherished only the hope of keeping the opposition of Senator Wadsworth to the suffrage amendment from public discussion. They failed in that purpose because women were determined either to secure Senator Wadsworth's support or to advertise his opposition, and make the consequences felt by Senator Wadsworth and his party in New York State.

Feeling on the national suffrage question runs just as high in every other part of the United States where Senators are to be elected next fall. In most of these senatorial seats, every candidate, Democrat and Republican, has made haste to proclaim his loyalty to the measure for national woman suffrage. Where a candidate, like Senator Ollie James, of Kentucky, has made himself conspicuous by opposing the suffrage amendment, all his opponents, both Democratic and Republican, have come out strongly against him on this issue, so far as the opinions of these candidates are discoverable at this stage of the election campaign.

It is a splendid proof of the great spirit of the American people that when all the material forces and energies of the nation are absorbed in a terrific war against the greatest military power in the world, there is alive in America itself such a determined will to safe-guard and extend the principle of democracy within our own nation.

New York Republicans Repudiate Wadsworth's Suffrage Stand

State Platform Urges Senators to Vote for Amendment; Women Demand Wadsworth's Support or Resignation

SENATOR Wadsworth received a direct mandate from his party in New York State last week to vote for the federal suffrage amendment.

An unofficial convention of New York Republicans, called by Senator Wadsworth himself, acting with his colleague, Senator Calder, unanimously adopted a platform plank declaring for the federal suffrage amendment and emphatically urging both Senators to vote for it. Colonel Roosevelt, the towering figure of the convention, demanded the passage of the federal suffrage amendment *now*. New York women attending the convention sessions, issued a plain challenge to Senator Wadsworth to "vote for suffrage or resign." Leaflets expressing the dissatisfaction of New York women with Wadsworth's hostility to their national enfranchisement, were put into the hands of each arriving delegate. In front of the hotel, street meetings were held from an automobile decked with a huge banner directing Wadsworth to support woman suffrage or resign his seat; and the same banner was quietly dropped from the gallery of the convention hall at the very end of the last day's session, amid a storm of approval and disapproval which created the most dramatic moment of the whole convention, and carried the message of New York women to their recreant Senator through the press of the entire country.

The great issue of the convention from first to last was national woman suffrage; and on this issue the Republican stand was one of emphatic approval. It is true that the biggest *theme* of the convention was undoubtedly the war, but there was no issue here;—"win the war" was the unanimous sentiment. The tacit endorsement of the candidate for Governor was another point of burning interest; but that involved—indeed, it turned upon—the question of woman suffrage. The two outstanding candidates were Charles S. Whitman and Merton E. Lewis. Whitman was for suffrage, Lewis against it. Whitman was the women's candidate because women want a Governor at Albany favorable to suffrage when the Amendment comes before the state for ratification. The women and the younger and more liberal men delegates gave the convention to Whitman. Another "feature" of the convention sessions was the appearance of women as accredited delegates, and of a woman, Miss Mary Garrett Hay, as chairman of the platform committee. This, again, struck the same great note of new power for women, and put them in a position to ask for help in the national struggle for women's freedom and to get it.

Blind is the man who cannot read such clear signs.

It is a curious and interesting thing that this unofficial convention of the Republican Party in New York was called by the conservative group of Republican leaders, Senator Wadsworth and Senator Calder, associated with men like William Barnes, Elihu Root, Elon R. Brown and Nicholas Murray Butler; and in the interest of the reactionary candidate, Lewis. But when the convention met, the platform adopted by the delegates Wadsworth had summoned, laid upon him the definite instruction to vote for the support of the federal suffrage amendment. This was done in spite of the fact that Wadsworth was a member of the subcommittee which drafted the platform and of the committee which submitted it to the assembled delegates.

It is difficult to see how Mr. Wadsworth can honorably escape such a mandate except by voting for the amendment or resigning, and thus directly submitting his position on the suffrage amendment to the men and women voters of New York State.

Knickerbocker Press, July 19, 1918.

What Slingerland Saw at Saratoga G. O. P. Rally

A STRANGER entering the United States Hotel at Saratoga Springs last Wednesday saw nothing for a confused moment except the dense throng of men customary at political conventions of the old type.

Then a familiar flash of purple, white and gold caught her eye, over a reserved table in the dining room and over a literature stand stationed by Miss Doris Stevens, of New York, at a strategic point in the center of the hotel piazza. STOP AND CONSIDER, said one leaflet in challenging type:

The Republican National Convention in 1916 declared in favor of woman suffrage.

In November, 1917, the men of New York voted overwhelmingly to give suffrage to women.

In January, 1918, the New York legislature under Republican leadership endorsed the National Suffrage Amendment and called upon Congress to pass it.

In January, 1918, the House of Representatives voted to submit the National Suffrage Amendment, 83 per cent of the Republican membership supporting it.

In February, 1918, the Executive Committee of the Republican National Committee approved the action of the Republicans in the House.

52 out of 62 Republican County Committees have endorsed the amendment, urged the immediate adoption of it and called upon the New York Senators to support it.

33 out of 44 Republican Senators (three-fourths) stand ready to vote for the amendment whenever the Administration allows it to come to a vote.

Senator Calder is pledged to vote for and is working for the passage of the amendment.

Senator Wadsworth not only has refused so far to support the amendment but works to obstruct its passage.

Republican women resent this deeply and call upon the men of the Republican Party to see to it that Senator Wadsworth abandons his opposition.

Senator Wadsworth is defying the expressed will of his state and his party.

REPUBLICAN WOMEN WILL NOT PERMIT THIS DEFIANCE. WE DEMAND HIS SUPPORT OR HIS IMMEDIATE RESIGNATION.

Delegates crowded round this table, so delightfully different from the old type of suffrage booth where timid ladies murmured, "Please sign our suffrage petition." . . .

On Thursday at noon the convention opened. A meeting of women delegates and of all women attending the convention was called by Mrs. J. F. Yawger on Thursday morning at 10 o'clock. A hasty effort was made to reach and gather together all the 77 women delegates and alternates; about 53 of these were present. The one interest

Knickerbocker Press, July 19, 1918.

What Slingerland Saw at Saratoga G. O. P. Rally

of the meeting was, evidently, the federal suffrage amendment. Not a voice was raised against it. The only discussion turned on the best way to secure help for the amendment from the convention. Finally a resolution was proposed authorizing the chairman to appoint a committee of women delegates who should draft a strong resolution supporting the suffrage amendment, and urging the two New York Senators to vote for it, and who should then designate one of their number to present this resolution in the name of the women delegates to the platform committee. This resolution was passed.

The convention opened at twelve with prayer. Mr. J. S. Fassett, a Whitman supporter, was made convention chairman. An air-tight rule was adopted in breathless haste, providing that all resolutions should be referred to the platform committee and should *not* be debatable. This effectually reduced the delegates to silence, and left the "floor" to the platform.

A resolution, obviously "official," was proposed and read from the platform, endorsing the federal suffrage amendment, but suggesting no action to advance it in Congress.

Mrs. Isabella Mott de Angelis, of Utica, delegate from Oneida County, then sent up the following resolution to be read from the platform:

Resolved, that this convention of the Republican Party heartily endorses the federal suffrage amendment;

Resolved, that we approve the magnificent record of the national Republican Party, which cast a 5/6 vote in favor of the suffrage amendment in the House of Representatives, and is now ready to cast a ¾ vote for it in the Senate;

Resolved, that we protest against the refusal of the national Democratic Administration to give the amendment the support necessary for its passage.

Resolved, that we commend the favorable attitude of Senator Calder to the amendment; that we deplore Senator Wadsworth's opposition to it as detrimental to the interests of the nation and the party; and that we call upon him to vote for it, or resign from the United States Senate.

This resolution was read to a packed hall, which gasped, laughed, and cheered at its sententious close. It was referred to the platform committee.

The platform committee met that evening at eight o'clock, Miss Mary Garrett Hay, chairman, presiding. On the suggestion of Mr. William Barnes, thirty minutes was allotted for the consideration of the suffrage amendment. Miss Hay gave fifteen minutes to the women favoring suffrage;—eight minutes to the National Woman's Party, and seven to Mrs. Whitney, chairman of the committee appointed that morning by the women delegates.

Speaking for the National Woman's Party, as a Republican delegate, Mrs. Isabella Mott de Angelis read the resolution she had proposed that day from the convention floor. Miss Lucy Burns in a brief speech asked the committee to demand that the National Democratic Administration press the amendment to an immediate favorable vote, and that Senator Wadsworth vote for it. Mrs. Adele Blauvelt, of Syracuse, in a one-minute speech, told the committee that she was not a delegate, and was not enrolled in any party. "Like many thousands of other New York women," said Mrs. Blauvelt, "I am waiting to see the platform statement of the different parties on national suffrage for women, and will decide my party allegiance by their stand on that issue."

Press men brought the Woman's Party rumors of a prolonged battle in the platform committee on the suffrage plank. Senator Wadsworth made a long and persuasive speech to his fellow-committeemen, defending his opposition to the federal suffrage amendment. Many members of the committee were, like him, opposed to suffrage in any form, and by any legislative channel. It is the greater tribute to the power of women in New York state that the suffrage plank was strongly worded, that it referred with warm approval to the splendid national and state record of the Republican party for suffrage, and that it emphatically urged both Senators to vote for the federal suffrage amendment.

As a party mandate, the plank was final. Senator Wadsworth had placed before the committee his reasons for opposing the suffrage amendment and in answer they officially urged him to support it. He immediately reiterated his opposition to the suffrage amendment.

New York women then seized a magnificent opportunity to carry, through the press of the entire country, their challenge to Senator Wadsworth to vote right or resign.

A delegation of New York women quietly seated themselves in the left-hand corner of the convention gallery, almost full in the face of the great assembly. In the delegation were Miss Lucy Burns, of Brooklyn; Miss Edith Ainge, of Buffalo; Miss Doris Stevens, of New York; Mrs. E. V. Muller, of Sullivan county; Mrs. George P. Decker, of Rochester; Miss Effie Burns, of Buffalo; and Mrs. G. W. Cook, of Mechanicsville. They waited with traditional feminine patience until the platform had been read to an end, and a motion was made to adopt it. The motion was put, seconded and passed so quickly that no opportunity was given the delegates to discuss the suffrage plank, or to suggest a substitute which should directly call upon Wadsworth to cease obstructing the suffrage amendment in Congress. Women delegates and many women present in the gallery, who were burning to put before the convention Senator Wadsworth's hostility to women's national interests, were denied an official opportunity to speak. They created an unofficial opportunity.

After the lightning vote was passed to adopt the resolution, a great black lettered banner slowly fell from the gallery rail. The closing business of the convention quietly proceeded. The women in the gallery placidly gazed on the placid heads below. It looked very much as if the banner, though excellently worded and excellently placed, would remain as obscure as even Senator Wadsworth could wish. Then an infuriated supporter of the Senator rescued the situation.

"Mr. Chairman," he said, in a voice that woke the convention out of its routine with a jump, "may I ask by whose authority *that banner* has been placed in the gallery?"

The deed was done. The eyes of the convention, and the eyes of the country, fell upon the banner. It said, "Senator Wadsworth obstructs the freedom of women. We demand his support of the national suffrage amendment or his resignation from the Senate."

Tumult broke loose on the convention floor. The banner was torn from the women's hands. They made no great effort to hold it. It had done its work. It had carried to politicians in many states the word that suffrage is a fighting issue, and that women voters have a overmastering interest in national woman suffrage.

The Suffrage Issue in Senatorial Elections

NATIONAL woman suffrage promises to be a "fighting issue" in every Senatorial primary and election contest save in those seats where candidates have eliminated the question by a strong endorsement of the federal suffrage amendment.

SENATOR Ollie James, of Kentucky, whose insistence on pairing against suffrage, prevented a vote on the federal amendment in the Senate on June 27, is faced by three opponents in the Kentucky senatorial campaign who are running on strong suffrage platforms.

Preston Kimball, of Lexington, James' opponent in the Democratic primary, Dr. Ben Bruner, of Louisville, and Judge D. J. Bethrun, Republican candidates, have wired statements of their support of the federal suffrage amendment to the National Woman's Party at Washington.

Mr. Kimball's statement is:

"I am earnestly in favor of the passage of the suffrage act by Congress. The women of America should have full citizenship, and I am indifferent by which route it is obtained, favoring of course the one that will most speedily bring it about."

Judge Bethurum wired:

"I favor the passage of the suffrage amendment by Congress."

Dr. Bruner stated:

"I am unequivocally for woman suffrage and trust that Congress will pass the amendment. If elected United States Senator in November I shall vote for the same. I aided in the adoption of a platform in the state convention, in June, 1915, containing a plank for woman suffrage passage, for which I voted as a delegate."

Telegrams from all campaign states are pouring into Woman's Party headquarters every day, giving the stand of candidates for the Senate on the federal suffrage amendment. So far every candidate heard from has stated that his platform includes a plank advocating the immediate adoption of the federal amendment.

IN Tennessee Senator Shields, still "non-committal" on the suffrage question, is opposed by Governor Tom Rye, who has made a strong declaration for the amendment.

Alice in Blunderland

By Inez Haynes Irwin

I WAS in the gallery of the Senate of the United States on June 27 when the suffrage amendment came up for discussion. It was an extraordinary occasion.

The position of the world at this moment in regard to the enfranchisement of women is as follows: That world is in the midst of the biggest war of its history. The immediate results have been catastrophic almost beyond present powers of imagination. The future results, in a quickened sense of democracy, will be far-reaching, absolutely beyond present powers of imagination. Yet, while in the very clutch of this bloody cataclysm, England and Canada paused to enfranchise their women. They looked upon this enfranchisement as a war-measure. The other two great English colonies, Australia and New Zealand, did not have to take this step because they had already taken it. Since this war began two other countries, the little neutral monarchy of Denmark and the great new republic of Russia have also enfranchised their women.

The position of the United States in regard to the suffrage amendment, is as follows: Five million of completely enfranchised women, nearly five million partially enfranchised women and many completely unenfranchised women demand that *all* the women of the country be given the ballot. Labor everywhere has gone on record in a similar demand. The House of Representatives has already passed favorably on this bill. The President of the United States has expressed himself as in favor of the amendment, has urged some members of his party to vote for it as necessary to the successful prosecution of the war.

The position of the suffragists of the United States on June 27 was as follows: They had on that day the necessary number of votes to pass the amendment and were eager to have the matter settled. But although the amendment came up for discussion, it did not come to a vote.

QUESTION: What then at the present moment stands in the way of the enfranchisement of all the women of America?

ANSWER: The Senate of the United States.

BUT, you ask, if the suffragists had the votes necessary to pass the amendment, how was it possible for the Senate to balk them? By the simple, old-time method of filibustering. Filibustering is a process by which the opposition keeps talking in order to prevent the vote from being taken. They talk on the subject, around the subject, about the subject, through the subject, and often *off* the subject. They talk on, around, about, through and off allied subjects. They talk on, around, about, through and off utterly irrelevant subjects. Sometimes they succeed in talking a bill to death. Often they succeed only in delaying inevitable passage. On June 27, Senator Reed, of Missouri, was the chief offender in this filibustering respect. As I listened to the one-hour-and-three-quarters of talk, utterly unrelated to the suffrage amendment, to which he submitted the Senate, I kept thinking of that immortal game of croquet in "Alice in Wonderland." Do you remember how that went? Alice's mallet was a flamingo, her ball a porcupine; the wickets were the palace-soldiers who formed their bodies into curves for the purpose. When Alice got the flamingo adjusted, head down, body tucked under her arm, the porcupine had invariably unrolled and scuttled away. And when she succeeded in re-coiling the porcupine, the flamingo inevitably curled upwards and stared reproachfully into her face. Moreover, the human wickets were always getting up and strolling about the grounds. Here, there, everywhere, the enraged Queen was shouting, "Off with their heads! Off with their heads!" So the suffragists. When we get the necessary number of votes, the opposition begins to filibuster. The "pairs," in accordance with an abstruse mathematical system which makes calculus look like the multiplication-table, begin to unpair and re-pair. And everywhere, the antis are shouting, "Off with their heads! Off with their heads!"

Remember that the filibustering cannot in the long run prevent our amendment from passing. And they know that, of course. They are only eating up time. It is an extremely dignified and beautiful picture, is it not? Even in peace. But when a great country is engaged in a great war, how doubly noble and inspiring!

ANOTHER consideration strikes me. I keep going back to the flaming fact of the Great War. I suppose the reason is that, although it is obvious that the Senate has at last grasped the fact that we are at war, it is equally obvious that they do not realize the present-breaking and future-making proportions of that war. The two great opposed principles of government which have evolved out of the dark troubled miasma of history—democracy and autocracy—are at death-grips and, between them, the world is being pitilessly broken. On our western front, civilization is burning up. Europe is crashing before our very eyes. Specifically, the third and greatest of the German drives for 1918 was, on June 27, likely to start at any moment. The consideration of a great and vitally important military-bill was to follow the discussion of the suffrage amendment. And yet, at that terrific moment, when every instant of time was worth its weight—not in gold, nor diamonds, but in human happiness, human hope, human life—Senator Reed emitted one hour and three quarters of abject drivel.

It would be interesting, in the strange interlocked relations of the war-game, to compute just how many guns, how many aeroplanes, how many human lives, the senator's prolonged ramble in fatuity cost us. There can be no doubt in the mind of anybody who has been "over there" that now it is in human material that we pay for filibustering oratory. Moreover, every intelligent eye in the Allied countries (and I doubt not in the Central Powers) is watching the United States to see if it will live up *practically* to the noble democratic principles it has enunciated. Or, they are asking, are those democratic principles mere political camouflage? Mr. Sokloff has told you in these very pages, how the news of the enfranchisement of the women of New York was received with cheers in Paris, how the French said, "America really means it. She is living up to her ideals!"

I must believe that some of this has penetrated to Senator Reed's psychology. He seems not to be especially proud of his feat in garrulity. The next day the *Congressional Record* said, "Mr. Reed addressed the Senate. His speech will be published hereafter." Up to this writing, July 16, that speech has not appeared. Some of us await it with eagerness. Even yet we don't quite believe our ears. It should be printed—without comment—for comment is superfluous—in every paper in the United States.

MANY informed people believe that the suffrage amendment is going to be passed by this Congress and passed as a war-measure. Remember that the time consumed in filibustering against it is the most precious time that has ever come out of eternity. Remember that that filibustering is not only halting the woman-movement of this country but of the whole world. Remember that it is taking time from the consideration of the Great War. I have just come back from nearly two years in the war-countries. After a few months, I hope to return to them. Over there, things are moving at a speed that makes the fabled swiftness of America seem a snail's pace. With what pride I shall tell those brothers-in-arms of ours of America's effort—our magnificent army, our ship-building and aeroplane program, our munitions-factories, the devotion and enthusiasm of a whole aroused people. But on the subject of the Senate of the United States, I shall maintain a grim determined silence.

An awful consideration strikes me. All the Allied world is working to bring about a peoples' revolution in Germany. The radical party in Germany is undoubtedly working to the same end. There was a vigorous feminist movement in Germany before the war began. Events move like lightning in war; violent changes come in a flash. Suppose, while yet the Senate is filibustering for a delay of the suffrage amendment, we should wake up some day to these headlines in our newspapers:

REVOLUTION IN GERMANY
KAISER DEPOSED
MILITARISM ABOLISHED
WOMEN ENFRANCHISED

The Woman's Party Campaign in the States

THE women of the whole nation are working for the two Senate votes still lacking for the passage of the federal suffrage amendment. Every chairman and organizer wants to make the last gains in her state. Suffrage activity is at fever heat as the precious session shortens and the opposition weakens day by day.

Massachusetts Protests Against Senators' Opposition to Suffrage

MASSACHUSETTS is determined to reassert its historic stand for liberty by a vigorous protest against the present opposition of both its Senators to the suffrage amendment. The executive committee of the Massachusetts branch of the National Woman's Party is meeting frequently and no possible method of bringing pressure upon Senators Lodge and Weeks is being overlooked.

The Boston Central Labor Union last week adopted a resolution endorsing the federal suffrage amendment and asking the United States Senate to pass it immediately. The resolution was presented to them by Mrs. Jessica C. Henderson, state chairman.

Miss Rebecca Hourwich, national organizer, reports that over $100 was turned over to the state treasurer as the proceeds of a charming garden fete and auction sale, held on July 4 at the home of Mrs. Henderson in Wayland.

Mrs. F. J. Oakes, Jr., and Miss Elizabeth Prather, both of Brookline, have become members of the Massachusetts maintenance committee, and have contributed two hundred dollars to its fund.

Maryland Women Tour Eastern Shore for Suffrage

MARYLAND women celebrated the fourth of July by launching a flying suffrage squadron of gaily decorated motor cars, which flashed their bright colors for several days along the beautiful eastern shore, calling together great crowds of men and women to hear the plea of the women of Maryland for political independence. At every meeting resolutions were passed calling on Senator Smith to vote for the suffrage amendment.

The squadron appeared first at the fourth of July celebration at Sudlersville, and immediately became the center of attraction there. Mrs. Ida Waters, of Washington, made a ringing, patriotic speech which moved the holiday crowd to genuine enthusiasm.

The squadron then swept into Chestertown. Miss Algeria Wood rang a bell to call the villagers to the meeting, which was held at the monument in the center of the quaint old town. The Rev. Mr. Williams presided; and Mrs. Woods, of Chestertown, told her townspeople how she herself had voted in three different states. Mrs. Waters and Miss Gladys Greiner, organizer for the Just Government League of Maryland, explained the suffrage record of the Maryland Senators, and demanded the immediate passage of the suffrage amendment.

In Centerville, the next stop, state Senator Legg gave most cordial help to the visiting squadron, getting the town auctioneer to ring a bell and call out the meeting, which was held in the main street; and distributing suffrage literature among the people. In the crowd gathered about the suffrage car were many well known local politicians.

A rousing meeting at Easton, in front of the court house, and at Claibourne at the boat landing, finished the tour.

Oregon Loyal to Suffrage Amendment

OREGON showered telegrams on its Senators and on the White House before and after the suffrage amendment was brought up in the Senate on June 27, to urge favorable action on the amendment and to protest against the Senate's delay. Messages were sent to Washington from the medical men in session at Portland, from the Mayor, from the clergy and the teachers, from the bar, from the presidents of civic organizations, and from the convention of the National Party, then meeting in Oregon.

Miss Emma Wold, chairman of the Woman's Party in Oregon, declared that Western women are "seething with unspoken wrath" at the denial of democracy in the Senate on June 27.

Senator Pomerene Urged to Vote for Suffrage

IT will not be the fault of Ohio women if Senator Pomerene fails to vote for the suffrage amendment. They are indefatigable in their effort to interpret to him, and to Senator Harding as well, the generally favorable sentiment of Ohio for equal suffrage.

Two hundred business women met at a luncheon in Cleveland on July 5 to make plans for work in Ohio, and to instruct their Senators to vote favorably on the suffrage amendment. Two hundred working men, members of the Machinists' Union, No. 421, Cleveland, endorsed the amendment on July 5. The Painters' and Decorators' Union, No. 372, and the Mechanics' Union, No. 11, both endorsed it the following day, July 6, at large members' meetings.

Home meetings were held in Cleveland on July third by Mrs. W. E. Bowman, on the fifth by Mrs. Gladys Severino, on the eleventh by Mrs. Elmer J. Lang and Mrs. C. W. Newman, and on the twelfth by Mr. J. C. Ralming. At all these meetings, Miss Clara Louise Rowe, Ohio organizer for the Woman's Party, was the speaker. Resolutions were sent to the Ohio Senators, asking for a favorable vote on the suffrage amendment, and to President Wilson, urging him not to allow the Senate to recess without taking action on suffrage.

Colorado Asks President to Secure Senate Action on Suffrage

THE following telegram was recently sent to President Wilson by Dr. Margaret Long, chairman of the Denver, Colorado, branch of the National Woman's Party:

"You have urged Congress not to adjourn, saying—'We dare not go to elections till we have done our duty to the full.' Only half the Democratic Senators are ready to do their duty for suffrage, while three-fourths of the Republicans are pledged and waiting for Democrats to allow vote. Urge Democrats not to have Senate recess until suffrage is passed."

Plans for ratification of the suffrage amendment had been completed by Colorado women when the failure of the Senate to pass it took them by surprise. They are now pressing for immediate favorable action in the Senate. Almost every district in Denver has a chairman, and meetings will soon be held in each district.

House meetings have been already promised by Mrs. Kingsley, instructor in public speaking in the University of Colorado, and chairman of District S; by Mrs. W. A. Bennett, whose home is in another section of the same district; by Mrs. Fitzell in District H, and Mrs. Louis Wagner in L. Miss Lula Kinney, field worker for the Civilian Relief Department of the Red Cross, is helping to arrange an outdoor meeting in District N.

The Denver *Post* (Democratic) has started an active federal suffrage amendment campaign directed by Frances Wayne, a noted Denver newspaper woman.

Dr. Caroline Spencer, secretary of the Colorado Woman's Party, reminds the SUFFRAGIST that the Republican state central committee of Colorado passed a resolution endorsing the federal suffrage amendment on May 30, 1918. This was omitted from the list of similar endorsements given in the SUFFRAGIST of June 29.

The action of the Republican state central committee is of great significance, since it consists of the chairman and the vice-chairman of each county; hence more representative than the smaller executive committee which transacts business between meetings.

Suffrage Sentiment Grows in Georgia

THE ninth congressional district of Georgia was recently organized under the chairmanship of Mrs. W. T. Hobbs, of Gainesville. Mrs. Beatrice Castleton, chairman of the Woman's Party in Georgia, is planning to arrange a deputation to the two Georgia Senators on their return home during the Congressional recess.

A resolution is now pending in the Georgia Senate asking the United States Senate to act favorably on the federal suffrage amendment.

Comments of the Press

Fair Words Only

THE Washington decision is that woman suffrage as a national proposition must wait for another session of Congress. That is the verdict of those who have been leaders in the movement to have Congress submit a suffrage Constitutional amendment to the country. Miss Paul, the leader of the National Woman's Party, declares that they face this postponement only because President Wilson failed to work with sufficient earnestness and determination for the amendment, while professing to be heartily in favor of it and willing to do all in his power in its behalf.

Mr. Dudley Field Malone, who has been a field marshal for the cause, is equally firm in his statement as to where the blame lies. He says that the delay rests upon the President and the Democratic Party, and that every one in and out of Congress knows that whenever the President puts the full power of his administration behind a measure it goes through. These declarations certainly cannot be considered as partisan. The ones who make them have been friendly to the Administration, and Mr. Malone was an important part of it until he withdrew because of its failure to keep its promises upon the subject of woman suffrage. Those who favor giving the ballot to women, therefore, can have no doubt why it is that their cause is not successful.

President Wilson has no hesitation in taking action to the full measure of his power in other matters in which he is interested. He can veto an appropriation bill because it provides a continuance of the pneumatic mail tubes, at the request of his Postmaster General. He can decline to have bills passed in any form except that desired by him. He can make legislative demands along all lines. It surely stands to reason that the same authority used in behalf of woman suffrage would have put the amendment through Congress. It would be in no way departing from his custom to have done so. But in this instance he saw fit to stop with fair words, a fact that is bound to be remembered and that will come back to plague the Democratic Party when it seeks the support of those to whom it refused its own support.—*Philadelphia (Pa.) Press, July 9, 1918.*

American Junkers

THE President has asked for immediate action in regard to the telegraph situation because of a threatened strike. The ballot for women still hangs in the balance owing to the refusal of reactionaries in the Senate to allow the proposal to be acted on at a favorable moment. It is claimed that three-fourths of the Republican members are ready to vote for it, which is probably true, though Republicans have never been consumed with burning zeal for woman suffrage in the past. Their present affection for it is due to the general drift in favor of it and the fact that it is good politics to play against the Southern brigade of the Democratic army. The South is the junker section of the United States, and has played and will play the same part in the politics of this country that the junkers of Prussia and eastern Europe have played. It will cherish every outworn institution and belief and be a bulwark of reaction for every exploiting class. In this it is joined by the capital and finance of the East, but here there is a definite class-conscious mass of industrial workers to force concessions; as they did in the case of the suffrage amendment in New York state last year. In the South an awakened working class does not exist, and the women cannot count on any such allies there. This backward section can only be made to move by the pressure exerted in other parts of the country through adoption of the federal amendment.—*New York Evening Call, July 12, 1918.*

Florida Senators Hear from Home

IT would indeed be gratifying to the progressive people of Florida if Senator Fletcher and Senator Trammell would come out in strong advocacy of immediate and favorable action for the suffrage amendment. . . .

The women of Florida though classed with aliens, lunatics, criminals and minors, are as intelligent as the women of New York or of California. . . . The enfranchisement of women should be nation wide and not even political shrewdness can longer prevent men who believe in a square deal, from using every means in their power to abolish the injustice that keeps the women of the United States from having their full share of the country's electoral power.

With President Wilson earnestly urging the adoption of the amendment, it is impossible to understand the lack of action. Either the men who have been so loyally supporting Mr. Wilson have been merely going as far as their personal wishes went, or there is some secret understanding by which the women of the United States are to be denied citizenship rights, while disgusting "bouquet throwing" and insincere praises "keep them quiet."

Whatever it is, the women of the United States are beginning to ask for justice, rather than for honey-words. They are giving and will continue to give as valuable service to the nation as is given by men. And they want—as a war measure—official recognition of their standing as citizens.

Florida's senators should be found among those who desire to do this act of simple justice.—*Miami (Fla.) Metropolis, July 12, 1918.*

Suffrage Now

THE United States Senate is not overwhelmed with work. . . . In a sense the Senate is merely waiting—marking time until it is called upon to engage consideration of the new tax measure.

Why is this not a suitable and convenient moment to take up the suffrage amendment? Is there any sound reason why, in this convenient lull, the Senate should not consider a subject it must dispose of sooner or later and end the unnecessary suspense? . . .

Let the Senate take advantage of the present release from pressing affairs brought up by the war, and pass the suffrage amendment. It must do it eventually; why not now?—*St. Paul (Minn.) Press, July 10, 1918.*

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Mrs. Arthur W. Thompson	2.00
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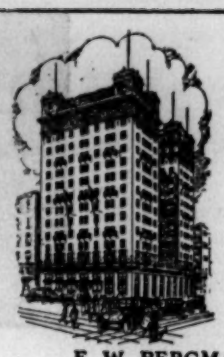
Mrs. Ella D. Rush	5.00
Miss Emma E. Elliott	5.00
Mrs. Townsend Scott	5.00
Miss Elizabeth Geary	10.00
Mrs. A. N. Kendall	30.00
Mrs. William Spencer Murray	2.00
Miss Eleonore Raoul	30.00
Mrs. Inez Haynes Irwin	5.00
Miss Mary Bartlett Dixon	5.00
Membership Fees	14.00
Total collected by National Headquarters	1,809.50
Previously acknowledged in THE SUFFRAGIST	340,909.88
Total collected by National Headquarters through July 17, 1918	$342,719.38

Contributions made to Pennsylvania Headquarters:

Anonymous	15.00
Mrs. K. G. Halligan	25.00
Miss Anne Heygate Hall	3.00
Mrs. G. O. Martin	1.00
Mrs. Frederick M. Shepard	25.00
Mrs. Ruben A. Fowler	1.00
Miss Mary H. Ingham	25.00
Miss Mary A. Burnham	500.00
Anonymous	35.00
Total collected by Branch Headquarters	630.00
Previously acknowledged in THE SUFFRAGIST	61,605.22
Total collected by Branch Headquarters throuly July 17, 1918	62,235.22
Grand Total	$404,954.60
Deduction:	
Transferred from Branch Headquarters to National Headquarters	3,637.50
Grand Net Total	$401,317.10



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